/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kāwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of
[574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full
[576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed
273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kāwi, and my old friend
[123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Caruruti, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).
529 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up
273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women,
243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking.
[412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not
[413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn
[461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single
[415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

1: Métraux--115 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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1. Vessels assembled in front of a hut and serving for the preparation of kāwi (chicha). Carurutí. (Photo. A. M.)

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2. Women and children taking kàwi. The women are squatting on the ground on skins, while the men are seated on benches or chairs. Samirenda. (Photo. A. M.)

293
824

/369 cont./

De Molles, y de murta bien obrado,
Seguro que bebian casi arroba,
Que media á cada cual le estaba dado."
/The wine of maize and of algarroba,
Of Molles, and of myrtle well worked,
It is certain that they drank almost
an arroba,
The measure which was given to each
one./

293
504
596
[123]
[114]

Kāwi is too respected a drink to be drunk in any old way. Etiquette requires one to comply with certain rules if the honor of participating in a drinking bout is done you. I sometimes had a chance to be invited to these festivities, and on such an occasion I was able to make the following observations which I am setting down just as I noted them in my field notebook: The men are seated in a circle on chairs or benches. The women squat behind them, on skins spread out on the ground. The kāwi is brought in vessels shaped like bulls, and one of them is put down at the feet of the "captain." The girl who has brought it fills a small calabash and offers it to the "captain," who empties it. Next he serves me and gives the vessel back to her. He does the same with my neighbor, then with several of the guests. Then he hands the calabash to his wife and goes to sit down. The latter serves the rest of the men present.

[554]

A second vessel, brimming over with kāwi, is put this time before another Indian who perhaps is held in some esteem. He drinks first, then busies himself with his companions. Two large calabashes are then given over to the women, and from that moment on, the distribution no longer seems to follow any order. Men and women drink and serve their neighbors without obeying any rule of decorum other than not to forget other people. They acquit themselves perfectly in this duty of politeness, and nobody is neglected, not even the very small children, who take alarming quantities of kāwi.

/369 cont./

293 574 576 [554] At Sainirenda on Easter Day I was able to note that the first one served is always the "captain." As before, the vessel full of kāwi is put down at his feet. He drinks the first bumper, then hands his cup or calabash to his neighbor. The latter gives back the calabash empty or fills it and passes it on in his turn. Several calabashes are circulated, but they always come back to the first person who received each one and he finishes it. The men move from their places several times to go to serve the women who, on their part, do not forget themselves and drink according to the same /370/ [533] ritual as the men. The drinking takes place to the sound of flutes and violins.

When the supply of kāwi is exhausted in a village, they get in single file and, the music at the head, go elsewhere to revel.

[789] [198] [302] Formerly the preparation of kāwi was accompanied by magic rites. Today nothing is left of this but the custom of daubing the face and legs with roucou. In certain villages the women do not even take this precaution any more. However, between Caruruti and Caipipendí, I could still see several women stained like this, who seemed "handsome devils," to use an expression dear to Jean de Léry.

415 ## Notes on the Cooking Utensils Used among the Chiriguano

Nothing strikes the traveler who arrives in a Chiriguano village so much as the abundance of pieces of pottery he finds inside or outside the huts. Figure 1 of Plate XIV /see p. 115/ gives an idea /Fig. 35 appears here/ of the number of vessels one can see in a small area at the time when the Indians are preparing corn beer.

Pottery for culinary use among the Chiriguano has a completely different nature from that for ceremonial days. The [197] [198] latter is clearly of Andean origin with a few rare Arawak elements, while the former has retained a very marked Guarani character.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Yvu, where

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

/125 cont./

736 578 Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576

1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574 609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/125 cont./

20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion. This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/149 cont./

755 756 554 731 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his companions limit themselves to saying Añete, that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan says amen.

756 554 574 731 [178] Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs, live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 756 731 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments, the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town, in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/160 cont./

721 648 Gũiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gũiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gũiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 ● 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

622 224

293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses, most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/171 cont./

342 335 [476] [574] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones, that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, [824] which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/173 cont./

342
824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342
574 When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

[476]
[831]

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342
312 The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

[221]
[461]
[356]

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

197 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 198 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/180 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it; most of them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have [513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they [178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and [237] to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivu Mission almost all make them of this material.

574 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
57[illegible] when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
516 the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
322 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[574] wood and called Apica. There are some with two places and up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for [412] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter [438] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like [439] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use [824] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which they seek out for these labors is zacharrosa, because it is soft and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /181/ hammocks, Quiha ő inni, but they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/181 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiuca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 524 576 516 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat. The woman does not wait; she knows her place; she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 241 415 322 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically through the middle. This is man's work; he plants them and cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 415 531 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/192 cont./

Adornments

500

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [594] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden: a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [198]

[Text continues on p. 267]

4: Nino--277 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/204 cont./

643 648 799 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 597 824 821 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink: no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of war. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

4: Hist--306 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/725 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her.
869 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period: he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor
• [574] do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period: in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Paraptiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

875 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

4: Mino--340 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt: some stay in town to help the women put the jars /cántaros/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, others even chickens and cows: these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

[231 594]

Animals

231

From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog: all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, Uru, and the dog, Yáimba. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language: but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called Uru by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call Urugüi and which is a species of crow. The dog is called Yáimba in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master. Ya, which really means owner-master, and Imba, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

[179]

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word Imba should have an h: nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word Yáimba would be: beast of the owner.

/258 cont./

527 574 576

When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice; he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[921]

2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 527 [302] The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527 574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 574 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 574 273 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 273 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only noteworthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/263 cont./

527 273 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 574

527 273 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone content and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagūipo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178]

1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano was almost never complete; today, with the use of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness. Would that this harmful drink could be eliminated! The mission Indians no longer glory in their drunkenness; they say that they have been drunk, but not as an honorable act.

[177] [178]

/265 cont./

52
517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164]

1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

• 574
576 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, *"Have you reached the afternoon?"* And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/266 cont./

The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egüeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[TEXT Continues on P.362]

/266 cont./

797
791 that the cacique had said with reference to their idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574
576 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leaving the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tunpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541
177 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano [184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa páure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero,

6: Nordenskiöld--42 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF8
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Ce
264
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Ce
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171
Ce
262
Ee
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462

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Rio Parapiti the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

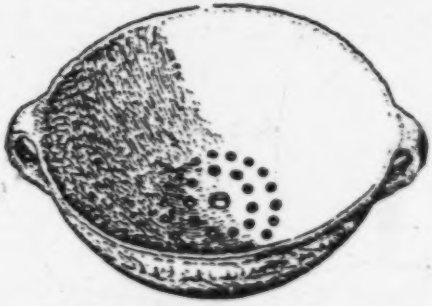

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The speciman illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care *of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home,* their skill, and their taste.

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[412]
[237]

The pots are stirred with large wooden spatulas /237 cont./ (Fig. 118a) or with shoulderblades provided with handles (Fig. 118b). It is the pride of every woman to brew good beer, "cangui," and much beer. Indeed, they are /238/ indefatigably busy. One sees them working all day, and even at night they are busy cooking and grinding. No family may refrain from making cangui.

The use of saliva may perhaps seem unsanitary. At first I thought this too, but soon I was so hardened that the cangui prepared with saliva-yeast in Indian fashion tasted better to me

Ce
273
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Fig. 117. Cooking maize beer. Chané. Rio Itiyuro.

C
Ce
273

than that brewed by the whites in a civilized way.

Connoisseurs, not only Indians, are said to be of the same opinion as I. It is important, however, that the cangui be drunk cold; it is unpalatable lukewarm. When it has stood for a long time, it is somewhat intoxicating, but not as much so as algarroba beer.

C
Ce
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There is a great deal of ceremony connected with cangui drinking. In front, on benches and stools (Fig. 85), sit the men, and behind them, on the ground, the women. The older ladies are given the best places. The hostess brings in the cangui in her

Ec 273 •574 576 /238 cont./ finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen in these villages.

e Ce [754]

C Ce 522 527 At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were handing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.

C Ce 535 532 177 541 Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).

ce 532 177 535 Ce [796] Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy said the idea for them had originally come from the whites. Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which

Ce /239 cont./
535 were used at their great festivals. In his opinion, the Chané used
532 masks before the whites came to the country. /240/ In addition
179 in those days they had around their legs
796 rattles made out of fruits and on their
[539] heads feather ornaments of parrot feathers.
[237]

Ee The Chiriguano and Chané
532 always destroy the masks after the
177 carnival. They are either burned
541 or thrown into the river. The Chané
535 call the masks "añañya."

E It is strange what a great
Ce role the carnival now plays as a
541 festival among the Indians. This
177 undoubtedly comes from the fact
[469] that the whites distribute great quantities of spirits there and that the Indians who work for them are given a few days off at that time.

Ee Guests often come from a great
527 distance to the festivals. They appear
273 there in their finest clothing and orna-
292 ments, freshly painted and nicely
●579 combed. Most of the old costumes
301 and ornaments, however, have already disappeared. Nevertheless one still sees women in home-woven clothing

E with necklaces of chrysocolla and
Ce turquoise. I never saw used, however,
[178] the silver diadem and the silver
E pins which belong to the festive attire.
912 One often sees the men's blue
237 costumes (fig. 81) with silver chest ornaments preserved in the huts by the old people, but they
Ce are not used for the festivals.
535 Among the Chané in the Itiyuro
527 valley I saw the Indians dance at a cangui festival. Around a "yambuy"
273 of cangui stood a few old men in twos, singing a monotonous song
633

Fig. 118. Soup spatulas. Chiriguano.
A = Tihuipa. 1/8.
B = Caipipendi. 1/6.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[P. 190 is blank]

142 To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puna and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 160.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141 [127]

The Chiriguano; some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.4	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 22	Majority 4	Majority 3—4
Women.....	151.7	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 4	Majority 3—4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Ibitĭbi I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 300 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceæ family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

[114]

[574] [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—192.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 26.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (12), p. 2.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).